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United Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale
Zion Zeire Zion of America.

The aims of Jewish labor; memorandum to the
socialist and labor democracy of the world
by the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale-
Zion of America.

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*United Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale
Zion Zeire Zion of America*

The Aims of Jewish Labor

MEMORANDUM

TO

**The Socialist and Labor Democracy
of the World**

BY

**THE JEWISH SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY
POALE-ZION OF AMERICA**

260 NASSAU STREET

NEW YORK CITY

1918

DS 150

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Introduction

The Jewish Question embraces a variety of interconnected problems, all springing from the fact that the Jewish people has no territory of its own and is dispersed throughout the world in comparatively small minorities.

In a world of races, states, and nationalities, a people scattered over the face of the earth with no unifying and protecting national center, is like a wrecked vessel on a stormy sea. Humanity is but a loose fabric of interacting groups, and no people can properly maintain itself in the race of life and take its rightful place in the play of social forces unless it has a homeland of its own.

The Jewish Question is not a theory; it is a fact. It may be viewed from many angles, its various aspects disclosing specific interests or particular needs. It is international in scope because Jews are found everywhere, their condition being essentially the same. It is international in character because it affects the whole world. Externally the Jewish Question manifests itself in all the familiar forms of anti-Semitism ranging from so-called racial dislike, through religious antagonism, social ostracism, and economic boycott, down to political or national oppression and physical violence. Internally the Jewish Question connotes stunted growth of Jewish life in all its essential phases; lack of opportunity for free normal development and expansion, and repressed dignity and self-assertion.

The following pages present the Jewish Question in all its chief aspects and from the point of view of the Jewish working masses, as expressed in the fundamental principles and general program of the Poale-Zion.



THE JEWISH QUESTION

The Economic Condition of the Jewish Masses

There are two fundamental causes which are responsible for the peculiar condition and the unusual sufferings of the Jewish masses.

These causes lie at the basis of modern society in general and the world position of Jewry in particular.

These causes have substantially nothing whatever to do with the political status of the Jews, and cannot be removed by political emancipation. The fullest possible freedom of Jews both as citizens of the State and as members of a living and distinct nationality cannot materially alter the economic position of the Jewish people.

Just as the hired laborer in general does not cease to be a proletarian by virtue of his right to vote; just as his class status as against the owners of the means of production is not changed by his attaining equality before the law—just so the economic condition of Jewry cannot be altered by granting the Jews all the rights due to man.

On the contrary, the primary causes of Jewish poverty serve as contributory factors of Jewish disabilities, national discrimination, social ostracism, and all the familiar forms of brutal persecutions and refined differentiations. Just as the workingman's franchise is considerably and often vitally prejudiced by his inferior economic condition—just so, and more, is the political status of the Jews prejudiced by their exceptional position in the world.

These fundamental causes are:

- (1) Capitalism as a system of production, and
- (2) Lack of a Jewish-national economic system.

The Jew as a worker, as a proletarian, suffers from the same fundamental cause of modern poverty which affects all the masses of the world, and which finds expression in the inequality of economic opportunity. There is no need to dwell further on that.

The second primary cause of Jewish poverty and inequality of economic opportunity, the lack of a Jewish-national economic system, needs some explication, especially since it forms one of the chief motives of the Jewish Socialists for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

The Jewish people lacks all the chief elements of a national economic system.

First. The Jewish people *has no agricultural class*, the substructure so vital to the normal life and development of a nation. While it has about a quarter of a million souls engaged in rural pursuits in various countries of the world, those individual Jews are mere parts of the general farming population, with the single exception of Palestine, where the Jewish colonies constitute an independent agricultural settlement and form the dominant economic factor in the land. They are all over scattered among the general population adding their quota to the number of farmers in a given land. They are not the substratum of the Jewish people as such. The Jewish nation cannot fall back upon its own natural resources, for it has none. It cannot live, even to a limited extent, by the produce of its own soil. It is wholly and completely dependent for its existence upon the natural resources and the economic organization of the environing and numerically predominating non-Jewish population.

Second. The Jewish people *has no national market*—that inner fabric of industrial and commercial relationships which holds together the social structure of a people; that supporting base of international exchange which is the real foundation of a modern nation's life and its political standing in the world.

The Jews are entirely dependent upon the non-Jewish population for their industry, trade and labor. They are mere elements in the fabric of the national market of others, but not in the least degree independent or capable of sustaining themselves as a separate economic group. Let the Jews, in their present dispersed condition, be suddenly cut off from intercourse with the non-Jewish environment, and they are doomed to starvation, to physical death. Nothing like it could happen to any other people, for any other people could live on its own agricultural and industrial resources,—badly, poorly, miserably, but it could live nevertheless.

This utter dependence of the Jewish people puts them at the mercy of economic forces absolutely beyond their control. They may, and do, accommodate themselves to the changes which take place in society to the best of their ability, but they cannot by themselves alter the system in any way or manner to suit their own needs as a nation.

The result is that the Jews, being a distinct people and looked upon as such by the rest of the world, are discriminated against as unwelcome competitors and are crowded out from many gainful occupations where sheer energy and ability are not the decisive factors, and are huddled into trades and pursuits which are comparatively less socially valued and less remunerative.

This explains the constant flow of Jewish masses from place to place and land to land.

While with any other people the progressive development of its economic forces absorbs and stimulates an increased population—as is shown, for instance, by the practical cessation of German and Irish immigration to America during the last decade before the war—this same industrial development drives the curve of Jewish emigration upward, as evidenced in Poland and Galicia, where the Jews had been first instrumental in advancing commerce and industry and are now crowded out by the rising economic power of the non-Jewish majorities, which before the war even inaugurated a system of silent and open boycott of Jewish industry and trade.

The Political Condition of the Jews

The lack of a national market means, with the Jews, that they do not constitute a separate link in the chain of international industrial relations. They are not in the position of a give-and-take partner in the family of nations. They are but cogs in the national machinery of other peoples. In the interactions, rivalries, and conflicts, of the economic forces of the civilized world, the Jewish people enjoys no separate interdependent existence. It offers no national market to enter into, no economic territory distinct from any other, no politico-economic *equivalent* in the interchange of commodities and wealth.

The Jewish people, therefore, has no solid basis for the development of its social and political power or for the maintenance of a respected political status. It relies for its freedom and existence solely upon the good-will, moral level and the sense of justice of, and its usefulness to, the general population of which it is a very small minority all over the world.

While fully recognizing the value and potency of general principles and the moral standard resulting from the growth of modern civilization and the progress of democratic institutions, we must never lose sight of the real basis of social ethics and international comity.

Even if enlightened *interest* is not the *sole* fountain of friendly relations; even if allowance be made for the independent influences of "humanity's conscience," it were an insult to human intelligence to assert that the mellowing effect of moral impulses can be relied on to have the same importance as a national market for the political position of a people.

If it be true, and it certainly is, that no man can maintain his rights and liberty unless he fights for them, it is a thousand times more true, if the expression be permitted, that no people can hope to maintain itself in the race of life without the means and the equipment offered by territory, economic growth, and the social force of a compact national group in its own land.

The numerically insignificant people of Montenegro, for instance, plays an independent and at times significant part in international politics, whereas some *fourteen* millions of Jews scattered over the earth whose number of fighting men alone in the belligerent armies of all the nations involved in the war is twice as large as the entire population of Montenegro, play no independent role whatever and must go begging, and hoping, and praying where the smallest political unit can resist, demand, or dictate.

The Jewish People a Broken Minority

Dispersed Jewry forms a minority amidst the nations, all the nations, the biggest as well as the smallest.

That alone is sufficient cause for the political weakness of the Jews. They must take the decisions of the majority whether they like it or not. Even if accorded the right to national autonomy, a right the Jews are as much entitled to as any other nationality in the world, the sphere of independent action must, in the nature of things, be very limited; besides, the functions and functioning of the constitutionally autonomous Jewish minority will be at the mercy of the good-will and aggressive interests

of the environing majorities which will, of course, by virtue of their numerical and economic power, exert a greater influence upon the policies of the state at large.

But the Jews are not only a minority, they are a *broken minority*, a minority split into classes and parties. The Jews participate in the general life of society, not as a separate national economic power, but as individuals, who distribute themselves, in accordance with their interests and desires, among the groups and parties of the surrounding majority. They cannot unite as one Jewish body on all matters and affairs of the life of the larger political aggregate of which they are a part. It is even difficult to bring them together on matters of general policy affecting all Jews in greater or lesser degree.

Which means that ordinarily the small Jewish minority, being dismembered by party, creed and interests, will not and cannot act as a unit and will therefore lose the benefits of united action as against the outside world of aggressive national majorities; will be deprived, in other words, of those natural bonds which a political unit or even merely a compact, territorially united, nation creates and maintains for all its classes. The individuals of a nation are bound together, bound territorially, economically and culturally. The power of the whole inures to the benefit of its parts, while the prosperity and achievements of the parts form the cumulative civilization of the whole. A nation, therefore, is naturally an independent factor in the life of the state or humanity at large.

Not so with the Jewish nation which is an ethnic-cultural entity, but not a separate social mechanism. Very few vital interests hold the Jews together, and they are doomed to the plight of a broken force. The Jews are constantly between the centripetal forces of race, history and culture as well as anti-Jewish discrimination, and the centrifugal forces of personal interests, ambition, and assimilation.

The Cultural Condition of the Jews

Modern nations are under the incessant influence of foreign cultures. They are in a state of criss-crossing interaction. That makes for the development of each and the progress of all. No man can develop with-

out the quickening intercourse of his fellow men, and no nation can advance without the broadening effect of international relations and foreign cultures. But there is a fundamental difference between an independent nation situated on its own territory and possessing a national economic system of its own, and the Jewish people deprived of this very vital condition. While any other nation can regulate and adjust the multifarious influences of foreign origin and properly digest them, to the benefit of its own civilization, the Jews have no such strong self-developing independent life to counteract and properly absorb the rush of non-Jewish influences. The result is a tendency towards assimilation in the "upper classes" and, in varying degree, in other circles of Jewry. The tendency is not, and cannot be, strong enough to overcome the disadvantages of the Jewish position in society and to absorb completely the Jewish type. It only distorts their life and their outlook upon life; creates half-Jews and half-Gentiles afraid to stand up for their own and unable to merge with the "plain people" of Jewry who remain outside the broad stream of foreign culture and only come in for the backwash of the general tide.

The effect upon Jewish culture is disastrous. For the "upper elements" drift away, in spirit and cultural pursuits, and the "lower masses" are left to shift for themselves. The only elements that stick to their people and persist in giving them the best there is in them, are the idealists and those who can manage to live by catering to the spiritual requirements and needs of the culture-hungry "plain people."

The action of so many cultures upon Jewry produces types of wonderful versatility and brilliant attainments, but the large masses are left comparatively poor in culture, unable to satisfy their aspirations within the narrow confines of Jewish life in the Diaspora.

The Spiritual Condition of the Jews

The important factors heretofore cited do not yet touch the heart of the Jewish Question. Poverty, misery, narrow scope of life—all these are the external signs of adversity. The fundamental thing is the state of mind of the people.

The desire for expansion, for freedom of action, for self-expression, for living according to one's own mind—that is the primary motive of a

normal human being. To the extent that removable obstacles are placed in his way by the circumstances of his life, does he fight against them for an ever larger measure of liberty and independence.

The Jew feels that his life is cramped, and he wants to be his own master, to shape his own fate. He can never be at peace with his soul; can never still the cravings of his irrepressible spirit in the present condition of Jewish life. His nationality cries out for freedom, for liberty of action, for unmolested development.

This inner struggle between desire and opportunity; between the natural, self-assertive impulse and the stern realities, assumes quite often the character of an intense soul drama, of heart-rending tragedy and results in many painful situations—for the individual or the people as a whole.

To be compelled to lead the life of an inferior when one is capable of taking the place of an equal among men, must tax the endurance of all but the most indomitable will. Some do indeed break down. The condition being too exacting for their weakened will-power, they choose the line of least resistance and attempt to assume the color of the environment lest they should be recognized as Jews. It is the most despicable form of assimilation. Hiding behind false appearances, this sort of Jew is ever atremble lest he be exposed, and he at times even sinks to the low depths of attacking his forsaken people to prove his "loyalty" to the ruling classes; it is the nature of the craven and the slave to fear the stronger and to win their approbation by denouncing or making sport of his own brethren. This type of Jew is somewhat unique and insignificant as to numbers, but he has wrought incalculable harm to the Jewish people throughout the centuries of our dispersion.

There is, at the other end of the line, another unhealthy and contemptible type, the kind of Jew that lives on the outskirts of society, actually and figuratively; the kind that has lost the spiritual balance and is under the steadying influence of neither the Jewish people nor the surrounding non-Jewish culture; the kind that has no sense of social responsibility and drifts about in the muddy pools and swampy marshes of the social lowlands.

With the exception of those two elements, small in numbers and occupying the edges of Jewish life, our people at large, and more particular-

ly the hard working masses, are knit together by the bonds of heritage and common life, constituting a well-defined compact whole. They are sound in spirit, nationally self-conscious, and ardently longing for freedom—freedom as to territory, political life, culture, and social-economic activity.

Poale-Zionism

There is only one way to solve the Jewish Question, and to solve it right. That way is: to rehabilitate the Jewish people as an independent member in the family of nations. A territory of its own, with a Jewish majority economically interdependent and politically free—that is the only sound and practical remedy for scattered Jewry.

As to this, all classes of Jewry are united who are conscious of their needs as component parts of the people.

The line of cleavage among them begins where class interests unite with national interests—as is the case with all peoples whose elements are one as to national integrity and divided as to their class interests and, quite often, also as to the interpretation of what the national interests are or shall be.

The common people of Jewry, the bulk of our nation, suffer, not only as Jews, but also as proletarians and toilers generally. Capitalism, on the one hand, and national dispersion on the other, both unite to make the lot of the Jewish masses unbearable, unique in the annals of humanity. The conditions of poverty and social inferiority with all their concomitant evils, are aggravated by the specific position of the Jews in the world. And, *vice versa*, the condition of the Jewish masses as such is largely affected by the general ills of society produced by capitalism.

To the Jewish masses, therefore, the Jewish Question is both national and social, and the remedy must be effective both ways. Social freedom and national liberty—both form integral parts of the Poale-Zion ideal, its theory and practice.

The all-embracing aim of Poale-Zionism is to free the Jewish worker both as proletarian and as Jew: a free Jewish nation in a family of equal and class-free peoples.

We want to destroy the cause of the distinctive anti-Jewish discrimination which springs from the political and economic weakness of our scattered condition, and to destroy it by rebuilding the country of our national birth, history, hopes and aspirations—and we want to destroy the fundamental cause of human poverty which is rooted in the system of private ownership of the means of production and distribution.

Socialism

The idea of collective ownership in the means of production and distribution of wealth is gaining ground steadily, and the time is not far removed when public needs and public expediency, on the one hand, and the rising power of organized labor, on the other, will break down capitalism and introduce socialism in its place. Science and the enlightened interests of the oppressed and exploited alike point to the same remedy for the evils of society.

The awakening of the masses to their common needs, the growing sense of mutual dependence for the achievement of a better and higher life, the technical and political training acquired by labor, and the class struggle, are the chief factors for bringing about the success of the Socialist movement. On the other hand, the technical progress, the broadening force of political democracy in national and international affairs, and the rising needs of the social organization as a whole, frame the setting for the attainment of the Socialist goal.

The Jewish worker has a highly developed sense of social responsibility; a clear consciousness of the community of interests with his fellow-toilers of all nations and, what is more, is suffering under the double load of capitalist oppression and abnormal national life. He has therefore greater reason to aspire to an ideal state of society, and he is psychologically more prepared for and more receptive to Socialism.

In the field of practical socialism, the Poale-Zionists recognize the need for parliamentary action, to the extent of its usefulness in the general fight for labor's freedom and without prejudice to the fundamental principle of the class struggle. They believe in the organization of labor forces for the purpose of wresting from the capitalist class an ever greater portion of the produce of their labor and for strengthening

their power in society. Briefly stated, we recognize the utility of all methods leading to the gradual acquisition of economic and political power until the final state of Capitalism has been reached and the era of Socialism may be safely introduced.

Poale-Zionism stands for the widest possible freedom of all elements of society, irrespective of class, creed, race, color or language. We are for municipal and state ownership of all public utilities, natural "monopolies," and all large industries, directly or indirectly affecting the welfare of the masses.

With respect to the political status of the Jews throughout the world, the Poale-Zionists are irrevocably committed to the principle of full and equal rights, civic, political, religious, and national.

We demand national autonomy for the Jews in Russia, Poland, Austria, Rumania, Finland, Ukraine and all the countries where Jews live in compact masses.

The Poale-Zion Organization

Any organized attempt to bring the Jewish Question to a happy end must necessarily take the form of an international movement.

Poale-Zionism is the organized endeavor of the Jewish workers of the world to alter their condition as Jews and as proletarians. It must, therefore, be worldwide in character. Inasmuch, however, as there are different states, each being a distinct unit in the world of political power and each demanding specific duties of its citizens, the Poale-Zionist organization is a confederation of national parties and groups, each exercising full autonomy within the limits of its respective state, and all co-operating through an international alliance.

There are Poale-Zion parties in Russia, Austria-Hungary, England, and America (including Canada), as well as in Argentina, South Africa and Palestine. There also are more or less large organizations of Poale-Zion societies in all the European countries, except, so far, Spain and Italy where there are no Jewish workers of any numerical value.

All these elements are united in an "International Poale-Zion Confederation" which has its Congresses every two years. There is a Con-

federation Council with headquarters at The Hague, and a special Bureau at Stockholm opened during the war for the purpose of being in closer touch with the Socialists of the world.

The world-wide organization of Poale-Zionism, the Poale-Zion "International," so to say, is the symbol of national and social unity of the workers of Jewry in all countries. It is the practical demonstration to the world that nationality is stronger than, and distinct from, state; it shows the essential unity of fate and aim of the Jewish socialists. Through it every organization of Poale-Zionism is part and partial of the world-wide Jewish movement for freedom.

The International Poale-Zion Confederation is the living expression of *National Socialism* or *Socialistic Nationalism*, which has been finally recognized as the only true conception of Socialism.

The part our Confederation plays in bringing Jewish socialism to the attention of organized labor throughout the world, its clear-cut philosophy of the identity of national liberty and social freedom is a great advantage to Socialism generally. We now recognize more than ever the intimate connection between internal liberty and external freedom. No nation can develop its life in line with the demands of Socialism unless it be free from external menace, oppression and exploitation.

Poale-Zionism in the sense of National Socialism having been accepted by the Socialists of the world, we are certain that our Confederation will enter the International Socialist Congress as a separate and autonomous national section, on an equal footing with all the other national sections which make up the Socialist International.

The Poale-Zion and the Socialists of the World

The recognition of the Poale-Zion as the Jewish Socialist Party representing the proletariat of Jewry, has been extended by the Socialists of the world in official form during this war. Heretofore the wranglings of the different Socialist creeds in the ranks of Jewry prevented the Poale-Zion from obtaining the recognition due them. The war, however, has brought to the forefront of international politics the powerful factor of nationality, and it has become clear even to the most uncompromising

"internationalists" that there could be no social progress, no forward movement of the exploited and oppressed classes, unless and until the national question shall have been reasonably settled. The Jewish question has thus gained in significance and has taken its rightful place among the problems of the day which the Socialists must earnestly consider.

There has also come about a change of front on the part of the various Jewish working elements. They have come very close to the principles and practical program of the Poale-Zion. Thus, with less opposition and a more favorable hearing, the aims of the Poale-Zion had to win in the estimation of the Socialist world.

The Poale-Zion Confederation *was officially invited to participate in the deliberations of the International Socialist Conference* which was to have been held at Stockholm, June, 1917. Thus we were placed on a par with all the other socialist elements of the world; thus also the Jews were recognized by the Socialist International as a separate and distinct nation with its own specific problems and its own legitimate Socialist representatives.

The Holland-Scandinavian Socialist Committee has in its Peace Manifesto of October, 1917, made the fundamental demands of Poale-Zionism its own in the following language:

"The international solution of the Jewish problem; personal national autonomy in Russia, Austria, Rumania and Poland where the Jews live in compact masses; security and protection of Jewish colonization in Palestine."

The official invitation to take part in the proposed International Socialist Conference at Stockholm and the approval of the Jewish Socialist demands for equal rights everywhere and the opportunity to rebuild the ancient homeland of the Jewish people, are highly characteristic of the growing value of the Jewish nation in the scheme of civilized humanity and of the cumulative effect and broadening influence of the Poale-Zion movement upon the teachings and policies of International Socialism.

The Socialist Party of England and the Independent Socialists of Germany have upon several occasions pledged their support to the Poale-Zionists.

In present revolutionary Russia Poale-Zionism has found ample

recognition in a variety of ways, from representation in all the Workmen's and Soldiers' Councils and the various Congresses of socialist organizations or nationalities, to the election of numerous deputies to the local governments.

It may here be mentioned that the English Labor Party and the American Federation of Labor, the two greatest and strongest labor organizations of the world which have endorsed the hope of the Jews to restore their homeland in Palestine, are, by the very fact of their being workingmen's organizations, presumed to be in accord with the desires of the Poale-Zion that Jewish Palestine shall be built on foundations of the most democratic and progressive principles, to safeguard the interests of the toiling Jewish masses and to enhance the general prosperity of the entire Jewish people.

Poale-Zion and the Zionists

The Poale-Zion are a separate organization of the Jewish working class which carries on its activity in behalf of social freedom and national liberty quite independently, joining the Zionist movement as a distinct party and recognized as such by the constitution of the International Zionist Congress.

If occasion or policy demands, the Poale-Zion unite temporarily or for specific purposes with other groups at the Zionist Congress, just as Socialists do in any National Assembly or Parliament.

In each country the Poale-Zion form their own party or society for their Socialist-Zionist work and stand in the position of an independent organization towards the local Zionist movement of the other sections in Jewry.

The fundamental difference between Poale-Zionism and "general" Zionism is very great. Both in the ideal and the constructive policies the line of cleavage is clearly marked, to the Poale-Zionists, at any rate. The general Zionists of America differ from their colleagues in other lands in that they have no definite social or economic program. They are satisfied, for the time being, with the abstract formula of Zionism, as laid down by the Basel program—a formula which is very elastic and capable of a variety of interpretations with regard to its economic and

social content. They even put forth this vagueness of program as conclusive proof that they are generous in their sentiments and would admit everybody into their ranks irrespective of philosophy or aim.

While there can be no doubt as to the difference in point of departure and results expected; while there is absolute certainty on our part that the capitalistic psychology and the general view of the world characterizing the Zionists will be strongly arrayed against the Socialists just as soon as actual restoration work will begin in Palestine, the vagueness of the American Zionists' wishes and constructive program fools many workers into the belief that there is no need for a separate party defending in Zionism the interests of labor. They confound lack of program and empty sentimentality with true democracy, a mistake they will find to their harm when the reconstruction work in Palestine assumes definite form.

In Russia and Austria where the Zionists are a political factor in the State, the difference between them and the Poale-Zionists is more apparent. In America, however, the Poale-Zion alone are a separate political party in Jewry, having for their aim, not only the upbuilding of Palestine, but the broad program of Socialism.

Palestine

The Poale-Zion look to *Palestine* for the territorial solution of the Jewish Question for the following chief reasons:

Racial. Without assigning undue importance to the effect of race, as a biologic entity, upon the destinies of civilization, it may be set down as an obvious truth that the physical environment works out, in the course of long centuries, specific types of people which retain their distinctive traits for an unknown period of time long after they left their original abode. The Jewish race having developed its peculiarities in the environment of the Near-East, it has to this day remained especially adapted to the clime and soil of Palestine.

Historic. The Jewish nation as such was born in Palestine; went through all the stages of development there and is essentially part and parcel of the civilization and spiritual heritage which that country, of all

countries, has given to a great proportion of mankind, modern as well as ancient. If there is any meaning whatever to be attached to so-called historic claims of a people to a certain territory, the Jewish people has the strongest claim to Palestine. Especially when account is taken of the fact that the land is not settled by any foreign element in considerable numbers. The few Arabs and Fellahs inhabiting the country are so small in numbers as compared with its population capacity that it would be ridiculous to point to them as the natural owners of a territory they do not occupy even ten per cent. of. Inasmuch, therefore, as there is no practical possessor of Palestine, it historically belongs to its original owner who had been driven from his own by the brutal force of a relentless conqueror.

Psychologic. Since the Jewish people was violently torn from its birth-place, about eighteen hundred and fifty years ago, it has never for a moment given up the hope of eventual restoration and has not ceased to pray, and think, and dream, of the Jewish Palestine to come. The more we suffer from the effects of our dispersion the deeper our desire to gain back our lost independence, and our gaze quite naturally turns to the East, to the country that was ours. Palestine is part of the Jewish religion and national mind. As long as we shall remain a people conscious of our kind and bound by history and tradition, Palestine must form an integral part of our national psychology, until it has again become the country of our race.

Economic. While Palestine is very sparsely peopled and in the first stages of modern development, it is far from being a wild unreclaimed area of the type of most of the colonial possessions of European powers. It has a population of one hundred thousand Jews, engaged in many kinds of industrial and agricultural activity; even the primitive farming communities of the Arabs and the Fellahs are an advance upon the state of culture of the aborigines of any colonial territory; its towns, though few in number, are centers of commercial activity, of a more or less limited scope.

Palestine is the connecting point of three continents, its geographical proximity to Northern Africa, Europe and the East being a valuable factor in bringing about a rapid development of international commerce and trade. Palestine thus presents phases and gradations of develop-

ment which are favorable for the transition period the Jews must go through to rehabilitate their country.

The Jews are at present overwhelmingly engaged in urban pursuits, and can readjust themselves to the needs of an independent economic national life only by slow degrees. The Jews coming to Palestine will be able to find outlet for their economic energies in a variety of ways. They will find employment, not only in agriculture, but also in industry and commerce.

Palestine appears to be the only country capable of affording the Jew the opportunity of easy and speedy adaptation and is, therefore, economically the only land, where the Jews can build up a homeland of their own in a comparatively short period of time.

Geographic. Another reason why Palestine is best suited to the national aim of the Jewish people, is its geographical position with regard to the large masses of Jewry. It takes less time and less money for the Jews of Russia, Roumania and Southeastern Europe generally to get to Palestine than to any other land of immigration. Once the opportunity for free development and economic advancement is secured, the wandering Jewish masses will trace their steps towards Palestine, not only because of the reasons cited above, but because of its very nearness to the countries of their departure.

Palestine, moreover, has a great periphery of Jews scattered about in the countries of Northern Africa and Eastern Asia, Jews who are eager to return to the land of their faith at the first opportunity.

Cultural. Palestine being the nodal point of vast commercial interests, and close to the Jewish centers of Eastern Europe, it will enable the Jewish immigrants and colonists to develop their own culture in a comparatively short time. As a matter of fact the small Jewish settlement there had succeeded, before the war, in creating an atmosphere of Jewish culture attractive to those in exile; many parents sent their children to study in the Jewish schools of Palestine.

The working masses of Jewry are of an advanced type of civilization and have cultural aspirations of a high order. They could not very well sink to a lower level of culture; on the contrary, they must rise to a higher plane of life if they are to build a national homeland for themselves. Palestine alone will successfully meet these needs of the Jews.

PART TWO

The Jewish Homeland in Palestine

The Poale-Zion see no solution to the Jewish Question other than in the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people. The Jews, like any other people, must have for their normal development a territory of their own, a compact mass constituting the majority of the country and free to live its own life. That is what we mean by a national homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.

To attain this end, the Jews must have their legitimate claim to Palestine fully recognized, and definite state powers granted to them. The combined resources of united Jewry the world over will be needed to build up Palestine into a real home for the Jewish people, but the preliminary condition to Jewish endeavor on the scale required for the rehabilitation of Palestine, that is to say, liberty of action and development, rests largely with the nations of the world which control, directly or indirectly, the destinies of Jewry and the shaping of Palestine's fate.

Therefore, the right of the Jewish people to Palestine must be acknowledged by all. The Jewish Question in its political aspect must be solved internationally.

The Jewish people being scattered all over the world, in more or less considerable minorities, no part of Jewry can, morally or otherwise, arrogate to itself the powers and rights of the whole people, unless expressly chosen by the people to act as its mandatory. The active co-operation is needed of all the Jews wherever found, who desire to participate in the national reconstruction of their people. The Jews are everywhere devoted, loyal and patriotic citizens of their native or adopted countries, and they need the assurance that their Zionist endeavor has the official recognition and endorsement of their respective country. No nation will countenance or aid the activity of its Jewish citizens for the advancement of Palestine unless it be in full accord with the idea of a national Jewish homeland.

The Jewish homeland in Palestine must therefore be *independent, neutral and internationally guaranteed.*

We hope the Peace Congress will view the Jewish Question in the

right light and will create an International Commission to function until the Jewish State has been organized, whereupon the state powers shall go unabridged to the Jewish majority in Palestine.

The Non-Jewish Population

The Poale-Zion are, quite naturally, the strongest supporters of equality of rights for all the sections of the Palestinian population without regard to race, creed or language.

We do not propose to build the Jewish future upon the sufferings of any class of people, and cannot see, not only the justice, but the usefulness of encroaching upon the liberties of the non-Jewish communities.

We believe that friendly relations are the best stimulant for mutual advancement and general prosperity.

Full and equal rights to all would insure speedy progress for Palestine and enhance the natural desire of the farming Arab and Fellah to stick to his land, thereby increasing his own amount of worldly goods and being released from the unpleasant necessity of looking for employment elsewhere, thus underbidding the Jewish workman.

Palestine is twice as large as Belgium and yet has a population of some 800,000 thousand, including 100,000 Jews. The occupied area is hardly 10 per cent. of the total, and is, at that, capable of a much denser settlement than it now has. There is room there for many millions.

It were sheer folly or downright dishonesty to imply that a national Jewish homeland would crowd out the non-Jewish population that is in Palestine.

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC PROGRAM FOR THE UPBUILDING OF PALESTINE

Nationalization of the Land

The Jewish people of the world, through properly accredited representatives elected on a fair and democratic basis, will be the legal body to take over the rights and grants of power, which will be accorded by the Peace Congress.

All the unoccupied land of Palestine shall thereupon become the possession of the Jewish people, after arrangements have been made for reimbursing those to whom indemnity may be due. This land being turned over to the Jewish people, and paid for, if necessary, by the Jewish people, must, of right, belong to the Jewish people—to the people as a whole and not to individual Jews. The land thus acquired, must not be resold by the Jewish Government to individuals into absolute private ownership. It must be rented out on the basis of long-term leasehold, a small annual rental being the sole charge to the tenant.

In all the countries of Europe the long term leasehold principle has been tried and found highly successful. People take much more readily to that kind of arrangement with the nation, state or community—for the cost of the land can then be utilized for the improvement of the soil and its products.

The principle of national ownership is intended to do away with speculation on land, with artificial boosting of land prices, and to make it possible for the small man to engage in agriculture. It, therefore, follows as a corollary that no large estates over and above the working capacity of the respective families of the tenant-farmers are to be allowed. For it is conceivable that many would utilize the advantages of long-term leasehold for acquiring large tracts of land to be worked by hired labor. That would, in a round-about way, prevent the small man from becoming the possessor of a farm of his own and defeat the very purpose national ownership of land is designed to advance.

Public ownership of land would also greatly encourage cooperative farming settlements—which would be of inestimable value to both the colonists and the Jewish homeland at large.

National Ownership of Public Utilities and Natural Monopolies

The Poale-Zion are emphatically against handing over “public utilities” in Palestine to private individuals or companies. All railways, ports, the telegraph, telephone, gas, light, and the like, must be the property of the Jewish people as a whole. These utilities must be created wherever needed and maintained and owned by the people.

Such national ownership would accomplish a great many things for the Jewish settlement of Palestine.

First, it would cost the people cheaper and would in the end bring a steady and increasing revenue into the national treasury.

Second, it would entail careful planning and systematic control of the general situation thus avoiding in a measure the menace of disappointment and possible misery which would accompany haphazard, disconnected and competitive private enterprises of national utility.

Third, it would facilitate the influx of a larger immigration. Private capital would never take the risk of building roads, railways, canals, etc., unless there was a sufficient population in the country or unless assured of enormous benefits for years to come. The people, on the contrary, would bear in mind, not the immediate returns or large financial benefits, but the speedy absorption of ever larger masses of Jews.

Fourth, it would ensure employment to Jewish labor and avert the danger of private individuals exploiting cheap non-Jewish labor to the detriment of the very foundations of the Jewish homeland.

Fifth, it would create a strong base for national and international loans. No state power can become a financial factor unless it controls sufficient material wealth to make good whatever obligations it might incur. By permitting the Jewish settlement to regulate, along broad lines, its own growth and expansion, and by giving it the power to own and hold fundamental industries, we shall be able to obtain the large capital required to build up the country.

Obviously, what is true of public utilities holds good with regard to all natural resources, such as minerals, water power, and the like.

In short, the fundamental, most useful, and nationally important industries, must be in complete control of the Jewish people.

We believe the Jewish masses will readily subscribe to such economic reforms which have already become the need of the hour everywhere and which would greatly stimulate the desire of the Jews to go to Palestine, where they would live, not only in a free community of their own, but in a higher state of material welfare.

National Minimum Wage

A guaranteed minimum return on labor, based on the cost of living in Palestine for civilized men, and established in agreement with the representatives of the Jewish working class, would go far to benefit our homeland.

First, it would stimulate the devotion of the Jewish workers to their people and to Palestine and would bring them in larger numbers, ready and willing to contribute their mighty share to the restoration of Jewry.

Second, it would bar from Palestine those elements, who thrive on the sweating of labor and create unsanitary conditions; it would bring into the land only the healthy and enterprising class of Jews willing to create an advanced type of industry and commerce.

Third, it would put Jew and non-Jew on an equal footing and do away with discrimination in favor of cheaper non-Jewish labor. That is exceedingly important for the whole Jewish structure in Palestine. A minimum wage would bring Jewish labor into its rightful place in the upbuilding of the country, and would almost entirely solve the question of labor competition which has heretofore hampered the steady growth, numerical and social, of the Jewish toiling masses in Palestine.

Coöperative Colonization

The Jewish community in Palestine would be materially strengthened if the colonization benefited the largest possible number of Jews and made them industrially and agriculturally as self-dependent and self-sufficient as possible.

There is no better way of knitting people together, of instilling the spirit of mutual welfare, and of raising the productivity of the country

generally than through cooperative endeavor in all lines of human activity where individual competition is harmful and where personal efforts are insufficient.

Palestine will, of course, offer the widest latitude for individual initiative in the capitalist sense of the term. We cannot run ahead of the time and compel cooperation where it does not yet appeal to the common people. But cooperation having proved superior to competition in many fields of material production, we must stimulate the application of the cooperative principles to the limit of efficiency and the general good.

The Poale-Zion put forth the demand that the Jewish homeland shall, as much as practicable, be built on the foundation of collective endeavor without depriving the individual of his ambition to succeed in life. Cooperation may be made to offer the largest field to the best abilities, energy, and ambition of the individual member, by assuring him a higher state of civilization and a higher rate of return on his labor investment.

Cooperation, moreover, is almost indispensable for building up Palestine for the reason that the enormous capital required could never be gotten in its entirety from the outside, but must be brought to Palestine in large measure by the people themselves. By pooling the small savings together the poor classes of Jewry could jointly undertake comparatively large enterprises.

Labor's Own Task

We have pointed out some of the principles which must guide the work of Jewish restoration in Palestine from the very outset; principles which are essential to the success of the vast national enterprise; principles which the Poale-Zion consider vital to the interests of the Jewish laboring masses.

We have faith in the democracy of Jewry as a whole. We are certain that the very needs of the task in hand will convince the greater part of the Jewish people that modern labor's social and economic program is the only safe and sound foundation to build our national homeland on. Moreover, we trust that the liberal opinion of the world, even if not all-powerful at home, will prove sufficiently strong to check in Pales-

tine the tendency to abuse on the part of the black sheep in the fold of Israel.

Nevertheless, or rather because of that, the Jewish laboring masses throughout the world must be thoroughly organized to carry its program into effect; must wield strong power as a social and economic force; must jealously guard their interests and the destinies of the rising Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

This is the great part Jewish labor is called upon to play in the development of a free Jewish homeland based on the most progressive principles of social justice and true democracy.

Jewish labor has, however, another task to perform—a task specific to it and at the same time of the utmost importance to the homeland generally and to the social, economic, and political situation of the Jewish working class in Palestine in particular.

This is the supply of Jewish brawn and brain power for the nationally owned and nationally worked industries, public utilities, and natural resources.

The industrial, commercial, and agricultural development of Palestine is, of course, impossible without a plentiful supply of labor, and Palestine cannot be Jewish unless the labor force shall be Jewish. The great works of road building, soil reclamation, forestation, transportation, and of generally preparing the country for mass immigration, must be done by Jewish workingmen conscious of their duty and willing to serve their people as a whole. No Socialist or even class conscious workman can be expected to sacrifice voluntarily anything at all for the direct enrichment of private business, but he will do his utmost for the improvement of his homeland if the nation is the direct beneficiary thereof.

The Labor Army

The Poale-Zion propose to organize a *large army of Jewish workers for national service*; ready to answer the call of Palestine.

A labor army of proper size would accomplish a great many things. Its objects are:

First, to supply willing workers for all kinds of national purposes and to reduce the problem of successful colonization to capital raising and

efficient planning and management. All the great enterprises for bringing Palestine into a state of advanced civilization could be carried through with the least possible friction.

Second, to avert the danger of non-Jewish labor being thrust by necessity upon the Jewish body which shall direct the general reconstructive work.

Third, to place every worker responding to the call in a position of certainty as to employment, decent compensation, and honorable treatment.

Fourth, to raise Jewish labor to the position of a potent factor in the whole scheme of practical Zionism, and to enable it to exert a powerful influence on the direction, character, and the execution of the work.

Fifth, to enable the workers to enforce, not only a minimum wage, but a scale of wages sufficient for all legitimate needs, such scale to be subject to revision, both up and downward, in accordance with the conditions of the time, place and kind of labor,—all done in perfect agreement with the workers through their accredited representatives.

Sixth, to enforce the widest possible extension of nationally owned industries. Organized labor will never willingly lend itself to private exploitation. The workers will make all the sacrifices that might be required of them for the benefit of the whole community, but would never consent to be labor soldiers for the aggrandizement of individual employers.

Period of Service

The Period of service in the interests of the nation should extend at least from two to five years, the length of time depending on the kind and quality of the work done, as well as upon the training attained during national service. It goes without saying that the term of national service could be indefinitely prolonged if so desired by the worthy and useful member of the labor army.

The Jewish nation, on the other hand, must provide a living wage for the workingmen while in the national service, including transportation to Palestine, if necessary, and afford them the opportunity of becoming self-sustaining upon leaving the service. After the "peace soldier" has been honorably discharged he should, if willing, be given the means of engaging in farming on a cooperative basis.

With this end in view, the nation may require that the "labor soldier" contribute a certain percentage of his earnings while in national service to this self-support fund,—his savings to be returned to him, with interest, should he prove unwilling to settle down as cooperative tenant farmer. The land will be given on a long term lease, at a small annual rental, and the implements, stock, seeds, etc., will be furnished on credit, for a suitable extension of time. To stimulate the initiative and enterprising spirit of the cooperative groups of honorably discharged workers, the nation may limit the amount of credit thus extended to the equivalent of the total wage sum for the entire period of the workman's service.

Workingmen who have gained special experience in industrial national service should receive a "bonus" in the form of credit for industrial cooperative enterprises. Special provision leading to a *life pension* could be made for those who should serve in the labor army sufficiently long to have earned this benefit.

The proposed labor army must, of course, have its voice in all matters affecting its well-being, and all the nationally maintained enterprises must be democratically controlled.

Conclusion

We have pointed out some of the principles upon which the Jewish homeland must be founded, considering the special interests of the Jewish masses and the very needs of the task in hand. We are aware that the realization of our program depends upon many factors, such as the degree of the independence of the Jewish people in Palestine, the organized power of the Jewish working class throughout the world and in Palestine, and on the measure of influence labor democracy is destined to have in society within the near future.

The Poale-Zion have faith in the Jewish masses and the onward march of democracy. They believe that a new chapter of freedom and independence will open to the long suffering Jewish people upon the close of the terrible war.

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